DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 097 733 CS 500 720

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TITLE Mass Media and Socialization: Theoretic Approaches.
PUB DATE Apr 74
NOTE 53p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association (New Orleans, April 17-20, 1974)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$3.15 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Child Development; Cognitive Ability; *Cognitive Development; *Mass Media; *Media Research; Social Agencies; Socialization

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the major theoretical approaches to the study of socialization, with an emphasis on media effects. The three major bodies of literature studied are the major theoretic approaches utilized in the general area of developmental psychology, the theoretical paradigms evident in studies dealing more specifically with child socialization, and the research evidence related specifically to mass media and socialization. The more common of theoretical approaches has been to designate three major models: (1) mechanistic, in which man is seen as primarily reacting to external forces which mold his behavior and personality; (2) organismic (structural or cognitive-development), in which man is seen as an active rather than reactive organism; and (3) psychoanalytic, in which emphasis focuses on a combination of drives, thoughts, and emotions in conjunction with basic psychosexual stages. These approaches to the mass media provide conceptual and empirically derived research schemes for the study of the media's influence in the socialization process. (SE)

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# MASS MEDIA AND SOCIALIZATION : THEORETIC APPROACHES

by

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School of Communications
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pa. 19122

Mass Communication Divison Symposium

SOCIALIZATION AND THE MEDIA :
THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

International Communication Association Convention
New Orleans, La.
April 1974

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# MASS MEDIA AND SOCIALIZATION: THEORETIC APPROACHES

By Thomas F. Gordon

## Complexity of the Problem: Implications for Theoretic Approaches

In attempting to focus on socialization effects of the media, it must first be recognized that the media are but one of many influences in the socialization process. Here, socialization refe s to the general process of preparing an individual (child or adult) for entry into a given social system. As Clausen (1968) notes, the general concept of socialization can be applied to any number of areas including child rearing, education, enculturation, role learning, occupational preparation, political orientation, or preparation for marriage and parenthood to name a few. Given this diversity, it is obvious that multiple factors such as parents, institutions of school and church, siblings, peers, and the media will contribute to varying degrees (Elkin, 1972).

These complexities are readily admitted by most media researchers. What is not as readily admitted is the realization that the development of a theory of media socialization effects becomes, in fact, a problem in the development of a theory of human behavior -- within which media effects become contributing elements. Given this realization, the task looms much larger and the media scholar is almost forced to concentrate on a specific aspect of the larger process. The overall theory will obviously take time to develop; however, to ignore the broader view in conceptualizing the problem is simply to postpone the point in time when a viable model of media socialization effects will be developed.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the major theoretic approaches to the study of socialization -- with an emphasis on media effects. Three major bodies of literature are examined --first, the major theoretic approaches utilized in the general area of developmental psychology. Second, the theoretic paradigms evident in studies dealing more specifically with child socialization. Third, the research evidence related specifically to mass media and socialization. These three major areas will be discussed in the above order.

## Theoretic Approaches in Developmental Psychology

The study of developmental differences has, for the most part, been organized around relatively few models of human nature. Within a general model, however, may exist a family of theories with each theory differing somewhat from the others on specific details but maintaining the general proposition concerning the basic nature of man.

Reese and Overton (1970) have argued very effectively that controversies between theories within the same model family are potentially resolvable but conflicts among theories from different model families can never be resolved. These differences between model families involve metaphysical and epistemological assumptions about the nature of man that are simply unbridgeable (Pepper, 1942; Kuhn, 1962).

These theoretic approaches or basic families of models have been classified in numerous ways (e.g. see Langer, 1969; Riegel, 1973; Looft, 1973). The more common division has been to designate three major models (Sutton-Smith, 1973):

(1) Mechanistic. (behavior or learning theory) Man is seen as primarily "reacting" to external forces which mold his behavior and personality. Here, the orientation is on the external influence, with Skinner's work being a prime example of this approach.

(2) Organismic. (structural or cognitive-developmental) Where man is seen as an "active" rather than reactive organism. Within the organismic camp the stress is on internal cognitive stages or sequences and the interaction of the individuals as determiners and predictors of behavior. Piaget is the prime representative of this approach.

(3) Psychoanalytic. Here, the emphasis is also internal but focuses on a combination of drives, thoughts and emotions in conjunction with basic psychosexual stages (e.g. Id, Ego, Superego). The resolution (or lack of resolution) of conflicting drives and emotions, related to specific psychosexual stages, is seen as the determinant of the individual's behavior and personality.

The Behavioristic approach is, on the surface, the least complex of the three basic models. The stimulus-response approach combined with concepts of punishment, reward, generalization, extinction, discrimination and observational learning allow for behavioral formation through basic classical or operant conditioning techniques. When applied to mental processes the system becomes more complex in that the individual's own internally generated stimulus may be viewed as part of an S-R chain which results in the formation of cognitive processes (e.g. Aronfreed, 1968).

Reese and Overton (1970; Overton and Reese, 1973) argue that the Organismic and Psychoanalytic approaches, because they both involve an internal orientation, are really two models within the same family. As such, accepting this rationale, there are only two basic models: Mechanistic and Organismic.

The external vs. internal dynamic is probably the most important distinction between these two theoretic approaches. Relative to the mass media, these propositions declare that major socialization effects could be conceived of in two very different ways. With the mechanistic approach the media dynamics (in association with other factors) mold the behaviors and cognitions of the individual. With the organismic approach the change is due to the

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dynamic interaction of the media elements with the cognitive structural or information processing characteristics of the individual. Most of the mass communication studies dealing with socialization effects have (consciously or unconsciously) ascribed to the mechanistic model. Studies relating to age, social class, sex differences, etc. are relevant to the broader developmental issue but for the most part have attempted only correlational relationships between these independent variables and factors like media usage patterns, content preferences or perception differences.

One recent notable application of the developmental approach to media effects is Ward and Wackman's (1973) study of children's information processing of television advertising. Their study makes evident the potential power of the organismic approach in conceptualizing and interpreting age differences by way of cognitive developmental characteristics. In their case, Piaget's theory provided a highly consistent explanation of observed differences and the theoretical framework provided a substantial base for making future predictions. Overall, the organismic approach appears particularily fruitful for research relating to children and media since changes in cognitive development are most evident through these stages in life.

As discussed by Looft (1973) and by Reese and Overton (1970; Overton and Reese, 1973), other major differences between the organismic and mechanistic approaches can be summarized as follows:

| ORGANISMIC | MECHANISTIC |
|---|---|
| -- Internal Orientation | -- External Orientation |
| -- Individual goes through stages which affect cognitive abilities. | -- Basic cognitive mechanism remains same. Changes occur by adding to or modifying repetoires. |
| -- Closed model in that there is a set number of stages. | -- Open model in that there is theoretically unlimited growth through modification of repetoires. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| -- Development is discontinuous as blocked out by each stage. Continuous in that stages progress sequentially | -- Assumes continuity of development, no necessity for stages. |
| -- Emphasizes structure - function in that cognitive repetoires are produced to serve the goals or functions of the organism. | -- Emphasizes antecedent - consequent approach where cause - effect or stimulus - response relations condition repetoires. |
| -- Holistic in that the organism is represented as an organized totality. | -- Stresses elementarism in that the organism is represented as a collection of elements. Any behavior or skill can be reduced to simpler or more elementary forms (Reductionalism). |
| -- Organized complexity of organism interacting with environment produces change. | -- Linear causality in that causes of change are unidirectional. |

As discussed by various philosophers of science (Kuhn, 1962; Fodor, 1968; Kessel, 1969; Pepper, 1942; Toulmin, 1962), the choice of a particular theoretic model will determine:

1. The basic categories determining the introduction of certain classes of theoretical constructs and the exclusion of others.
2. The explication of particular features of theoretic propositions.
3. The definition of meaningful problems.
4. The types of methods to use for the exploration of given problems.
5. The types of explanations for interpretating the data.

Given the importance of the above factors to the research process it is evident that the choice of a model for persuing the socialization effects of the media should not be taken lightly.

From the earlier realization that media effects should be juxtaposed with other family, school, peer group and environmental influences, it follows naturally that whichever model is adopted, the approach should be a

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long-term or "life-cycle" paradigm. McLeod and O'Keefe (1972) recognized this aspect in their recent conceptualization of communication as a dependent variable in the "socialization perspective".

The life-cycle approach is probably best characterized by the growing number of psychologists who subscribe to the "life-span" developmental approach. Their rationale seems very appropriate for our own media socialization problem (Baltes and Schaie, pp. 393-394):

> (1) A life-span view of development, ... (relative to describing the process) ... is based on the fact that behavioral change, which can properly be labelled developmental change, is observable at all stages of the life-span. The rate, directionality, and sequentiality of such changes depend not upon the age of the organism, but upon the relative degree of stability in the man-environment context relevant to a specific behavior class over a given period of time. A life-span perspective also suggests attention to a joint description of the individual and the environment as changing systems.
>
> (2) A life-span view, with regard to developmental explanation, illustrates any developmental approach in its extreme form. It's usefulness is dependent upon the joint action of continuous and discontinuous antecedent-consequent models. In terms of paradigms, the focus is on change rather than stability, on historical (potentially time lag) relationships, ... and the conjoint analysis of man-environment systems.
>
> (3) In regard to corrective, preventive, and optimizing modification, the life-span view of development draws attention to dramatic modifiability of development at all periods of the life span. In terms of substantive proposals, a life-span view suggests a redistribution of interventive efforts throughout the life span, a much stronger emphasis on massive, molar environmental (and genetic) modification than is currently practiced and a focus on the consideration of developmental history variables (both in a retrospective and prospective fashion) when designing intervention programs.

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Specific Child Socialization Conceptualizations

Given the interrelationship of socialization to other general areas of psychology, sociology, communicology, anthropology, etc., it is difficult to point to specific works as major contributions to the theoretical conceptualizations of the socialization process. Fortunately, major summarys of socialization related research have been attempted from time to time and we can draw upon these summaries to detail the major conceptual schemes (e.g. Baltes and Schaie, 1973; Child, 1954; Clausen, 1968; Goslin, 1969).

As a general conceptual approach to the socialization problem, Elkin (1960; 2nd ed. 1972) suggested focusing on four major elements: (1) parents and family, (2) peers, (3) institutions like school and church, and (4) the mass media. This very broad classification begins to break up the important elements but specific factors within each category must be detailed in order to begin to formulate specific socialization effects. Beginning with the child, the major variables or conceptualizations evident in the socialization literature will be listed. In many cases, variables or conceptual schemes overlap (i.e are not mutually exclusive).

The Child. Among the many specific demographic variables relevant to the child's role in the socialization process, the following are most frequently evident (Baltes and Schaie, 1973; Goslin, 1969): (1) age, (2) cognitive stage, (3) education, (4) socio-economic status, (5) race, (6) I.Q., (7) birth order and sibling relationship, (8) personality type, (9) behavioral predispositions. Of these variables, the concepts of cognitive stages, personality type and behavioral predisposition provide the most general yet complex, characterization of the child.

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The cognitive staging approach is best represented by Piaget's (1970) stages of logical thought (see also Kessen and Kuhlman, 1970; Ginsburg and Opper, 1969):

1. Symbolic, intuitive thought
2. Concrete operations, Substage 1 categorical classification
3. Concrete operations, Substage 2 reversible concrete thought
4. Formal operations, Substage 1 relations involving the inverse of the reciprocal
5. Formal operations, Substage 2
6. Formal operations, Substage 3

Relative to personality types, various typologies have been offered (see Edwards and Abbott, 1973; Livson, 1973). Eysenck's (1959) empirically derived factors of Extroversion-Introversion and Neuroticism represent two basic types. Cattell's (1966 as cited in Hall and Lindzey, 1970) factor analytic research, on the other hand, produced the following personality dimensions:

1. Outgoing - Reserved
2. More Intelligent - Less Intelligent
3. Stable - Emotional
4. Assertive - Humble
5. Happy go lucky - Sober
6. Conscientious - Expedient
7. Venturesome - Shy
8. Tender minded - Tough minded
9. Suspicious - Trusting
10. Imaginative - Practical
11. Shrewd - Forthright
12. Apprehensive - Placid

In the behavioral predispositions area the work of Thomas, Chess and Birch is most notable (1970). From a longitudinal study of middle class youngsters, they observed behavior factors like motor activity, regularity of body functions (eating, sleeping, excretion), response to

new objects or people, general mood, and attention span. They were able to classify 65% of their sample of 141 into one of the following temperament types:

1. "Easy": positive mood, low to moderate activity level, regular body functions, adapts easily to new situation (40% of sample)
2. "Slow to Warm Up": low activity level, adjusts slowly to new situations, somewhat negative in mood (15% of sample)
3. "Difficult Children": irregular in body functions, intense reactions, generally negative in mood (10% of sample)

In turning from the child to other agents of the socialization process, we should note Clausen's (1968b) general classification of important properties or modifiers of role relationships involving socialization agents and those being socialized (p. 149):

1. Affectivity, nature of the emotional tie:
   (a) Loving-hostile (accepting-rejecting)
   (b) Emotionally involved-affectively neutral
2. Relative power of agent and inductee, including resource control (equivalent to dependence of the inductee).
3. Relative degree of initiative (responsibility) allocated to agent and inductee.
4. Specificity or diffuseness of the claims of each individual upon the other.
5. Explicitness and primacy of socialization aims (or social-influence aims) of agent as against other objectives (that is, commitment of the agent to bringing about changes in the orientations, skills, feelings, etc., of the inductee).
6. Consonance, congruence, or resonance of the goals of agent and inductee in the relationship generally and in regard to specific socialization aims.
7. Interpersonal skills of both parties and the clarity of communication between them.
8. Group and contextual supports for or in opposition to agent's aims and methods (normative solidarity versus alienation, subterranean values, conflict orientation).

Parental and Family Factors. Relative to a conceptual characterization of the parental role in the socialization process, Clausen (1968) provides the following scheme of parental aims or activities and the corresponding task or achievement expected of the child (p. 141):

| Parental Aim or Activity | Child's Task or Achievement |
|---|---|
| 1. Provision of nurturance and physical care. | Acceptance of nurturance (development of trust) |
| 2. Training and channeling of physiological needs in toilet training, weaning, provision of solid foods, etc. | Control of the expression of biological impulses; learning acceptable channels and times of gratification. |
| 3. Teaching and skill-training in language, perceptual skills, physical skills, self-care skills in order to facilitate care, insure safety, etc. | Learning to recognize objects and cues; language learning; learning to walk, negotiate obstacles, dress, feed self, etc. |
| 4. Orienting the child to his immediate world of kin, neighborhood, community, and society and to his own feelings. | Developing a cognitive map of one's social world; learning to fit behavior to situational demands. |
| 5. Transmitting cultural and subcultural goals and values and motivating the child to accept them for his own. | Developing a sense of right and wrong; developing goals and criteria for choices, investment of effort for the common good. |
| 6. Promoting interpersonal skills, motives, and modes of feeling and behaving in relation to others. | Learning to take the perspective of another person; responding selectively to the expectations of others. |
| 7. Guiding, correcting, helping the child to formulate his own goals, plan his own activities. | Achieving a measure of self-regulation and criteria for evaluating own performance. |

Other major family analyses have concentrated on family interaction patterns (Hartup and Lempers, 1973; Hess and Handel, 1959; Herbst, 1954; McLeod and Chaffee, 1966; Parsons and Bales, 1955). The dimensions of these

analyses have varied from dyadic and basic intrafamily structures to control and social power structure. The research on child rearing patterns also reflects a major concept of family influence (Sears, et.al. 1957; Whiting and Child, 1953).

Peer Group Influence. The increasing importance of the peer group as the child grows older illustrates the dynamic changes that take place within as well as between particular socialization factors (Clausen, 1968b). Elkin (1972) has provided a useful categorization scheme of peer group functions:

1. Provides experience with egalitarian (symmetrical) types of relationships.
2. Aides in teaching taboo subjects (e.g. sex, drugs).
3. Provides information on current trends (e.g. fashion, music).
4. Expands the social view of the child.
5. Helps the child to become independent of parents and other authority figures.
6. Provides a collective cushion against the demands of authority.

Institutions of Society. The role relationship factors listed after the child factors and prior to the agent factors are particularily salient to conceptualizing institutional influence. By far, the most researched institution is that of the school. Within the school the teacher becomes the primary agent of influence. Clausen (1968b) conceptualizes the primary aims and activities of the teacher as follows:

(1) Teaching and encouraging skill learning -- specific cognitive skills such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and the more general skills of maintaining attention, sitting still, participating in classroom activities.

(2) Imparting information, orienting the children to the educational system and to the intellectual heritage, seeking to commit them to its ends.

(3) Transmitting dominant cultural goals and values, making clear their meaning and relevance.

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(4) Providing guidance and models for problem solving; maintaining an atmosphere conducive to learning.

(5) Overcome gross deficits in preparation and attempting to deal with individual differences and with personal problems of the child that hinder his performance; in some instances consulting with the parents or with guidance personnel.

The maintenance of control by way of authority or social power and through emotional acceptance is an important aspect of the teachers influence in the classroom. Glidewell (1966) determined that the effect of the delegation of a portion of the teacher's social power to the student in conjunction with prominant emotional acceptance tends to: (p. 232)

1. stimulate more pupil-to-pupil interaction
2. reduce interpersonal conflicts and anxieties
3. increase mutual esteem, rapport, and self-esteem
4. induce a wider dispersion and flexibility of peer social power as manifested by a greater tolerance for divergent opinions in the initial phases of decision-making and a greater convergence of opinion in the later phases of decision-making
5. increase moral responsibility, self-initiated work, independence of opinion, and responsibility in implementing accepted assignments.

The role of the church and other institutions in the socialization process is much less defined (Swanborn, 1968). The most relevant comparisons have been within the specific area of moral socialization (e.g. Kohlberg, 1964; 1969; 1973; Maccoby, 1968). Within the study of religion proper, Glock and Stark (1966) offer the following empirically derived dimension of religiosity which describe a religious person and which could be used to conceptualize potential socialization dimensions:

1. Experiential: Religious persons will experience special feelings or direct knowledge of ultimate reality (e.g. the presence of god unity).
2. Ideological: Adherence to a core of beliefs is essential.
3. Ritualistic: Prescribed by all formal religions (e.g. prayer, fasting).
4. Intellectual: The expectation that a religion will be knowledgeable about the tenents of his faith.
5. Consequential: Refers to the consequences of or effects of religion in the individual's life.

Although the research relating specific religious experiences is scant, the most dramatic effects are probably evident in religious conversions which result in apparent (though not substantiated) personality shifts (Lofland and Stark, 1965). Kohlberg's (1973) six stages of moral development provide the most refined conceptualization (from the organismic point of view) of the interplay between moral development and socialization experiences:

Stage 0: The good is what I want and like
Stage 1: Punishment-obedience orientation
Stage 2: Instrumental hedonism and concrete reciprocity
Stage 3: Orientation to interpersonal relations of mutuality
Stage 4: Maintenance of social order, fixed rules and authority
Stage 5:
A. Social contract, utilitarian law-making perspective
B. Higher law and conscience orientation
Stage 6: Universal ethical principle orientation

It is interesting to note that Kohlberg (1973) is suggesting a possible seventh stage of moral development which is very similiar to what Glock and Stark (1966) describe as the religious experience of feeling oneness with God or nature. He notes ".... it appears that the men from Socrates to Martin Luther King, who are most pointed to as having lived and died for their ethical principles, have had something like a strong stage 7 orientation in addition to a commitment to rational principles of justice" (p. 204).

A growing area of research which provides potential institutional comparison is that of adult socialization (e.g Brim, 1968). Factors studied include occupational roles, work skills, interpersonal relationships, and aspiration levels (see Ahammer, 1973; Moore, 1969; Riley, et. al, 1969).

Besides school and church, Lippitt (1968) lists other major institutional agents to consider in the socialization process:

(1) The formal education system, public and private.
(2) The churches with their programs for children and youths.
(3) The leisure-time agencies with their recreational, cultural, and character education programs.
(4) The social control and protection agencies such as the police, courts, traffic-safety agents etc.
(5) The therapeutic, special correction, and resocialization services such as counselors, remedial clinics, and programs for the handicapped.
(6) Employment offices and work supervisors who hire the young and supervise them on their paid jobs.
(7) Political leaders who have an interest in involving the young in political activities such as civil rights protests.

The Mass Media

Again, the approach in this section will be to provide the available conceptual and/or empirically derived research schemes as indicators of theoretic approaches to the study of the media's influence in the socialization process, with minimum discussion of each scheme. More detailed discussion of particular schemes and their relationship to a proposed theoretic approach will be presented following the general socialization considerations.

The major recent reviews of mass media literature and recently published research-related books were used as the primary sources of information concerning conceptual (socialization) approaches to media effects (Clarke, 1973; Gerbner, et. al., 1973; Leifer, et. al. 1973; Liebert, et. al, 1973; McLeod and O'Keefe, 1973; Pool, 1973; Schramm, 1973; Kline and Tichenor, 1972; Schramm and Roberts, 1971; Searcy and Chapman, 1972; Siegel, 1969; Goranson, 1969; Weiss, 1968; 1971). Relative to our concern for the basic model of man which appears to underlie the research, it is

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clear that the vast majority of media researchers (consciously or unconsciously) ascribe to the mechanistic or behavioral approach. This fact probably has more to do with our current level of development in the study of mass media effects than with any conscious broad-based theory development. For example, much of the literature deals with studies of basic variable relationships and as such is more oriented toward exploratory ends than toward the development of particular theories.

General System. Pool (1973) provides a basic framework for the analysis of communication system dimensions which takes the following form (pp. 3-4):

(1) Number of elements in the population which affect the number of potential links.
(2) Message capacity of links between elements (bandwidth).
(3) Volume of message flow through the links (actual amount of information).
(4) Network Structure:
    A. Directionality
    B. Possible or permitted links
    C. Probability of channel usage
(5) Type of message carried
    A. Form (Structure)
    B. Content
(6) Triggering mechanisms (e.g. message may trigger basic change in above system characteristics).

Pool contends that as a systems approach, this scheme contains the basic elements that should be defined when working with any communication system (Pool, 1973).

Basic Communication Effects. Schramm and Roberts (1971) suggest that basic communication effects (not necessarily specific to mass media) can affect our "images" of the world around us by (1) redefining an existing image or (2) maintaining the present image (Roberts, 1971). They present

a somewhat more specific effects category scheme in discussion of the following general effects:

1. Inform
2. Instruct
3. Persuade
4. Entertain

Basic Media Functions. The above scheme could also be conceived of as functions of the media. Specific to the functions question, Schramm (1973) discusses Laswell's basic functional scheme:

1. Surveillance of the environment
2. Correlation of societal elements
3. Transmission of social heritage

Other functional media schemes summarized by Schramm (1973) distinguish between social and personal functions:

| | SOCIAL | | PERSONAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Status Conferral | 1. | Social Utility |
| 2. | Enforcement of Social Norms | 2. | Information |
| 3. | Social Narcotics | 3. | Entertainment |

Weiss's (1968) review of the media literature produced a similar functional break with the important addition of the time filling and/or diversion function, not distinguished in earlier classification:

1. Time filling
2. Relaxation or Diversion
3. Social Utility
4. Personal Information

Greenberg's (1973) factor analytic study of television gratification also produced time filling and habit functions. Relative to the mean values of the dimensions in this study, the recognition of these types of functions may turn out to be very important in future theorizing about the effects of television in our society. These factors and the companionship factor may point to important mental health functions of television over the long run.

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Greenberg's factors in order of mean value were:

1. Habit
2. Pass Time
3. Companionship
4. Arousal
5. Learning
6. Relaxation
7. To Forget

Range of General Media Effects. Weiss's reviews (1968; 1971) provide general effects classification schemes that indicate the range of potential effects and particular variables that have generated considerable research and as such may be worth examination. Note that this is not a functional classification per say: (1) Cognition -- second hand reality; selective exposure; (2) Comprehension (of media messages) (3) Emotional Arousal -- mood; cognitive schema; setting of exposure; (4) Identification -- with character; with behavior; (5) Attitudes; (6) Overt Behavior -- time allocation; consumer purchases; (7) Interests and Interest Related Behavior; (8) Public Taste; (9) Outlook and Values; (10) Family Life.

Political Effects. Relative to this specific area of media effects (see Chaffee, et.al., 1970; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Hyman, 1963; and McCombs, 1972), considerable research has been done. Weiss (1968) considered the following variables to be of major importance in media effects:

1. Interest - will affect exposure time and content choices.
2. Selective Exposure - relates to interests. Overall, exposure to all or most aspects of major television campaigns will be evident (without intended exposure), while special programs (conventions, telethons, etc.) will show strongest evidence of selective exposure.
3. Selective Retention. Will function relative to interest and exposure.
4. Relative Strength of Attitude Before Exposure. The stronger the attitude, the more likely the reinforcement vs. change effect.

5. Activation. Relevant to particular content issues
6. Reinforcement. The major effect attributed to media political information.
7. "Image" evaluation. May be dominant over issues.

As Weiss (1968) notes, "... the media do not merely transmit messages, but structure 'reality' by selecting, emphasizing and interpreting events." (p. 176). This image creation process is a very subtle and important factor in the socialization process.

Televised Violence. This area of study has generated an enormous amount of research. Various reviews have attempted to synthesize the findings (e.g. Goranson, 1969; Siegel, 1969; Liebert, 1973; Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, 1972). The major theoretic possibilities of effects are:

1. No Effect
2. Catharsis (Draining off of Aggressive drives)
3. Stimulation (Causing the individual to be more aggressive)

By far, the majority of research supports the stimulation position. The catharsis effect may hold in very limited special cases. One classification of relevant factors affecting the outcome of exposure to televised violence is as follows (Gordon, 1971):

I. Prior Viewing Factors
   A. Characteristics of the Child (personality, predispositions, fantasy ability)
   B. Family Characteristics and influences (control practices, expressed values)
   C. Immediate motivational state
II. The Viewing Setting
   A. Presence of aggressive cues
   B. Presence of an adult
III. Medium Characteristics: Form and Content
   A. Content Preceeding the Violent Act
      1. Justification for the violence
      2. Aggressor-Victim Characteristics (status)
      3. Identification with characters and settings
      4. Fantasy-Reality, e.g. Time Context of the program (Gordon, 1973)

B. The Violent Act
   1. Type of weapon
   2. Type of act (novel vs. stereotyped)
   3. Number of models in the act

C. Content succeeding the violence
   1. Consequences (physical pleasure or pain)
   2. Punishment-Reward (goals reached or not reached)

IV. Post Viewing Factors
   A. Similarity of setting with media setting
   B. Relative anonymity
   C. Awareness of arousal state

Socialization and Communication Behaviors. McLeod and O'Keefe (1972) stressed communication as a dependent variable in their classification of factors relating to the "socialization perspective". They grouped communication behaviors first by the way in which they were measured followed by major factors affecting each type of behavior:

1. Media Exposure: confounded by interest, availability of the media, and available time for the viewer.
2. Communication Processes (Activities): Has advantage over the exposure variable in that it can be applied to both interpersonal and mass communication.
3. Motivational Gratification: Is conceptually closer to the "why" of usage but relys on the respondent's ability to know why and to give more than socially acceptable answers.
4. Media Credibility and Preferences: Indications here are that it may be better to examine media attitudes and media related overt behaviors separately.

Factors relevant to above dimensions:

1. Age or life-cycle
2. Social Structural Constraints of the System
3. The Agent or source of influence
4. Learning processes involved -- i.e. modeling, reinforcement, or social interaction.
5. Content or criterion behavior being explained as dependent variable -- (a) similarity to agents' behavior, (b) absolute level of the viewers' behavior

McLeod and O'Keefe contend that social structural constraints should be treated as theoretical variables rather than as "static categorical locators". Also, they recommend, "Receiver-oriented categorizations

of media functions combined with specific use patterns of content categories would seem to be the optimum strategy for measuring communication behavior." (p. 159).

Cognitive Approaches. It should be noted here that a growing number of researchers are recognizing the importance of cognitive mediational processes as potentially powerful explanation and prediction mechanisms (see Clarke, 1973). These approaches range from using cognitive characteristics as classification variables to the examination of specific information processing skills. This approach will be discussed in greater detail under the later proposed research scheme.

Developmental Approaches. As noted, very few studies have taken a cognitive developmental approach to the study of media effects. The Ward and Wackman (1973) work with children's information processing of TV commercials was referred to earlier as an excellent representation of the potential power of this approach for the explanation of differences across age groups and for the hypothesis generation potential of the theory (see also Blatt, et.al., 1972). Roberts (1973) has examined the developmental approach to communication and children as well. He notes the potential power of this approach, and discusses the related research in the area of language acquisition. However, Roberts' review of the mass media literature beares little relation to the developmental approach, because (as noted) very little of this research was conceived in the developmental framework. More specifics of the developmental approach will also be discussed in the proposed research scheme to follow.

Children and Television. Leifer, et. al., (1973) reviewed a large body of literature relating to children and TV. The major areas concerned included (1) Viewing Patterns; (2) Content Analyses; (3) Instructional TV; (4) Aggressive Content. Their general model of the major elements in the socialization process was three overlapping circles labeled TV, the child, and other agents. From this basic model, they classified the relevant factors as follows -- stressing developmental stage and information processing as child characteristics:

A. Characteristics of the Child
   1. Demographics (SES, Age, Race, Cognitive make-up, etc.)
   2. Developmental Stage
   3. Information Processing Characteristics
B. Characteristics of TV
   1. Structure (Form or Style)
   2. Content
C. Other Agents:
   1. SES and subcultural characteristics: These factors will affect:
      a. what the agent will do
      b. what they encourage the child to do
      c. how they use TV themselves
      d. how children react to them
   2. Content:
      a. range of norms and behaviors displayed by the agent
      b. what they attempt to teach the child
   3. Form (e.g. peers, institutions): relates to characteristics (e.g. SES) of the agent and avenues of influence available to the agent.
D. Interaction of Child, TV, and Agents: Major Dimensions Influencing the Interaction will be:
   1. Credibility (source: medium or agent)
   2. Power (relative differences among agents)
   3. Appeal (attractiveness of the TV content or agent)
   4. Comprehensibility ( of information source or agent)

## The General Socialization Process: Summary and Model

The major conceptions available in developmental psychology, socialization research and the media related literature provide important frameworks within which to conceptualize the socialization effects of the media. These elements allow for the elaboration of a media oriented model of socialization effects. The important realization from these major areas should be that each will provide differential inputs to the process and all interact to produce the ultimate socialization effect. In terms of needed research, the intent should be to determine the contribution of the media to the socialization process relative to the contributions of the other agents. Figure 1 presents a media oriented model of the general socialization process. Given the focus on the media, this agent is placed in the center of the model. However, we should note that the relative contribution of a given agent of socialization may change depending on the mix of elements. For instance, the peer group will be more important in the life of an adolescent than for a preschooler. As such, for conceptualization purposes a researcher might reorganize the agents of influence relative to their contribution to a specific socialization problem.

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Proposed Research and Theory Emphasis

From the literature examined and the resulting model, the complexities of the socialization process are clearly evident. Given this mix of interacting elements it is also understandable why many media effects have been relegated to the "reinforcement" category. However, the media provide a unique influence in that they pervade the entire system -- creating a symbolic information environment. Gerbner (1972) states the case as follows:

> Never before have so many people in so many places shared so much of a common system of messages and images -- and the assumptions about life, society and the world that the system embodies -- while having so little to do with creating the system. In sum, the fabric of popular culture that relates the elements of existence to one another and shapes the common consciousness of what is, what is important, what is right, and what is related to what else is now largely a manufactured product. (p. 154)

Other major media scholars have formulated the same conclusion (Schramm and Roberts, 1971; Roberts, 1971; 1973). Schramm (1973), after examining the potential effects of [redacted] communication concludes:

> The main effect communication has on us is on the pictures in our heads, our cognitive maps of environment, our images of ourselves, the beliefs and values we have accepted and are prepared to defend, the evaluations we have made of our relationships to individuals and groups -- in other words, the translations of experience we have stored away in our central nervous systems. By making some contribution to these 'pictures in our heads', a communication can contribute to the probability of our making some overt response. (p. 194).

Similarly, the Surgeon General's (1972) report on TV violence concerns that major [redacted] effects of televised violence may be more related to our "national ethics" (i.e. standards or norms of acceptable behavior) than on actual overt behavior.

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Thus, the prime effect of the media appear to be their contribution to our "Images," with the realization that our images directly affect behaviors. Given this conviction, we have begun to set up a basic model of the nature of man -- as distinguished earlier in this paper. The more appropriate theoretic approach for media scholars, then, seems to be the organismic approach because of its emphasis on the cognitive development of the individual and the interplay of those cognitive dimensions with the immediate environment. As such, the proposal here is to base "Image" related media effects research within the Cognitive-Developmental paradigm.

Theoretic Considerations

As noted earlier, the organismic approach is a broadly based model with families of theories within the parent model. The two major theoretic approaches within the basic Organismic model are the Cognitive-Developmental paradigms (e.g.Piaget, 1970, Kohlberg, 1969; Baldwin, 1969) and the psychoanalytic approaches (e.g. Freud, Erickson, 1968). Given the greater specificity of the cognitive-developmental approach and its closer relationship to the principles of learning theory, it is recommended as the most useful theoretic approach. Baldwin (1969) notes that the cognitive-developmental approach is:

> ... a theory of human behavior which postulates a general cognitive mechanism as the initial step in the chain of events leading from the stimulus to the response. The assumption behind cognitive theory is that stimuli are received and processed to extract the information that they contain. This information is in some way integrated into a cognitive representation of the environment in which the individual is represented. (p. 328).

Thus, this theory is highly consistent with the "image" approach to media effects. Baldwin (1969) goes on to note that a general cognitive

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mechanism simplifies the explanation of the relationship between the external stimulus and the criterion behavior. Laws couched in terms of cognitive objects are probably simpler than laws couched in terms of the proximal stimuli and the motor responses of the organism. This seems particularly important from our realization of the complexities of the socialization mix. Diggory-Farnham (1972) stresses the point that the cognitive-developmental information processing approach offers "... a methodology for precisely specifying the changes in organismic states and systems that are the heart of developmental science (pp. XV)."

Kohlberg (1973) summarizes the general characteristics of the cognitive-developmental stage concept as developed by Piaget:

1. Stages imply distinct or qualitative differences in structures (modes of thinking) which still serve the same basic function (e.g., intelligence) at various points in development.
2. These different structures form an invariant sequence, order, or succession in individual development. While cultural factors may speed up, slow down, or stop development, they do not change in sequence.
3. Each of these different and sequential modes of thought forms a structured whole. A given stage-response on a task does not just represent a specific response determined by knowledge and familiarity with that task or tasks similar to it; rather, it represents an underlying thought-organization. The implication is that various aspects of stage structures should appear as a consistent cluster of responses in development.
4. Stages are hierarchical integrations. As noted, stages form an order of increasingly differentiated and integrated structures to fulfill a common function. Accordingly, higher stages displace (or, rather, reintegrate) the structures found at lower stages.

From these basic conceptions, a more specific theoretic conception is needed to begin to define the process and to apply it to our media image problem.

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For this purpose, Baldwin's (1969) cognitive theoretic framework of behavior and learning seem highly appropriate:

1. A cognitive theory of behavior assumes that the first stage in the chain of events initiated by the stimulus situation and resulting in the behavioral act is the construction of a cognitive representation of the distal environment. The later events in the chain are instigated, modified and guided by this cognitive representation. The cognitive representation thus acts as the effective environment which arouses motives and emotions, and guides overt behavior toward its target or goal.

2. This cognitive representation changes in character as the child grows up.

   a. In the very young child the cognitive representation is relatively narrow and focused upon some momentarily salient aspect of the immediately perceptible environment; it is strongly dependent upon the momentary state of the child, such as his drive state, his emotional state, his specific orientation, and upon the ongoing action of the moment.

   b. With learning and maturity, the cognitive representation becomes a relatively *broad integrated representation* of the environment including many features that are not directly perceptible, although from a strictly informational point of view, the cognitive representation is not enriched since it cannot contain more information than the proximal stimulus situation. It is a coding of the proximal stimuli although the term "coding" suggests a too-restricted view of the process by which the cognitive representation is constructed.

   c. With learning and maturity, the cognitive representation separates the self and the environment. The individual himself is represented as behaving in the external environment. The individual himself gradually comes to be portrayed as acting, feeling and wanting, and as having various properties such as abilities, traits and values.

   d. With learning and maturity, the cognitive representation of the environment becomes relatively *neutralized* to the emotional and motivational state of the organism. It guides the expression of various emotions and the satisfaction of various motives, but the representation itself is a relatively neutral rendering of the properties of the external environment.

   e. With learning and maturity, the cognitive representation becomes coded in a more complex fashion reflecting the acquisition of language, cultural labels, etc. The individual becomes capable of double coding in the sense that he relates a label to its referent without confusing it with its referent.

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f. All of these changes represent trends. They are never completely finished (neutralization, for example). Furthermore, they do not apply to all behavior; some behavior continues to be mediated by the simpler mechanisms even while other behavior is mediated by the later-developing mechanisms. By and large, thoughtful, planned voluntary behavior reflects the operation of the more complex mechanisms while dreams, motor skills, automatized habits, impulses, and involuntary expressive behavior each in its own way reflects the operation of earlier, though not less, adaptive mechanisms.

g. In general higher level mechanisms control lower level ones if they come into conflict. It is this fact that justifies the label "higher" and "lower," not some abstract value system, nor even differences in degrees of adaptiveness.

3. The acquisition of the content of the cognitive representation follows in general the principles of learning: contiguity, generalization, reinforcement, and repetition. With cognitive growth these principles operate under specific restraints; for example, an event is much more reinforcing to an action if it is cognized as the result of the act than if it is seen as an accidental contiguity.

4. Cognitive acquisition is furthered by specific kinds of information-getting behavior such as orienting responses, visual scanning, exploratory behavior and the like. The effectiveness of such behavior depends upon its making contiguities, similarities, repetitions, and reinforcements cognitively clearer than they would otherwise be. These information-getting behaviors change with age and learning and show effects of socialization.

5. Some of this information-getting behavior is motivated by cognitive unclearness or confusion (epistemic motivation). In this case the information-seeking behavior can itself become cognitively guided as, for example, the scientific method.

This framework provides a much more specialized view of the cognitive-developmental approach and, as such, serves to better direct theory building efforts related to media image effects. The next step of the theory construction process is to more specifically refine the concept of the "image" and to relate this more specific image conception to information processing activities and eventual effects.

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Explicating the "Image". Numerous scholars have attempted to conceptualize the importance and function of a general cognitive image relative to the communication process and to the functioning of the individual in general (Alexander, 1971; Boulding, 1956; Chaffee and McLeod, 1971; Cunningham, 1972; Donohew and Tipton, 1973; Gombrich, 1972; Horowitz, 1972; Kagan and Kogan, 1970; Klinger, 1971; Kolers, 1973; Miller, 1960; Olson, 1970; Premack, 1972; Rohwer, 1970; Simon, 1972; Werner and Kaplan, 1963). However, the problem is not an easy one and these efforts have resulted, for the most part, in highly specific conceptions related to particular attitudes or values, or have taken a "black-box" approach in which the internal elements of the image are not specified. Relative to general cognitive psychology, Deese (1972) notes that psychological functions can be differentiated into (1) Cognitive; (2) Affective and (3) Motivational components. From these basic elements and from the framework provided by Baldwin's (1969) theory listed above, we can begin to more explicitly define the component parts of the image. Baldwin's theory posits that the components of cognition, affect and motivation will serve to motivate behaviors. The behavioral predisposition or "set" thus becomes a relevant component. For each of these component parts there will be immediate or short term aspects as well as the basic response set.

For each of the basic components, relevant dimensions can be summarized from the past research. The dimensions evident in the combined works of Berlyne, 1965 ; Donohew and Tipton, 1973; Gross, 1973; Gerbner, et. al , 1973; McLeod and Chaffee, 1972; Premack, 1972; suggest the

following as relevant dimensions of the cognitive domain:

COGNITION: Interests (i.e., agenda setting or priority concerns)
Knowledge (facts)
World Image ("Social Reality")
Self-Image (View of self and role in society)
Attitudes
Values
Symbolic Modes (Iconic, Linguistic, Socio-Gestural, Logico-Mathematical, Musical)

The modes of symbolic functioning as detailed by Gross (1973) are a particularly interesting aspect of the cognitive component in that they define the relative competence of the individual to process a given type of symbolic information.

Affect. The role of emotion and affect in the communication process is especially important. This dimension will determine primarily the intensity of response and the basic dimensions of emotion available to the individual. (Deese, 1973; Ekman, 1971; Pliner, et.al., 1973; Solley, 1966).

When viewed in conjunction with the motivational component, a dynamic interaction is evident (Izard, 1971). For example the individual may be motivated to seek information and the information may trigger affective or emotional responses that change the dynamics. Because of this interaction between basic functional motivation and emotional state (and for that matter, the cognitive component) it is difficult to define the affective set as anything more than a predisposition to respond at a given intensity level for a given emotional mix. The work of Thomas, et.al., (1970) referred to earlier as a "child" characteristic, provides a basic three part typology of behavioral predispositions that include the intensity variable (easy, slow to warm up, difficult). However, this typology probably best reflects the mix of the affective component and the behavioral set.

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Tomkins (1962; 1963) has determined a set of eight basic affect dimensions which are felt to be relatively innate or common. They include:

Positive: Interest-Excitement
Enjoyment-Joy
Surprise-Startle
Negative: Distress-Anguish
Fear-Terror
Shame-Humiliation
Contempt-Disgust
Anger-Rage

As an aid in conceptualizing the affect component, these dimensions will be classed within the affect set -- recognizing that the set itself would be some particular structural arrangement or composite of these three. The individual dimensions may be more relevant to identifying particular immediate arousal states. Relative to identifying immediate emotional arousal, Davitz (1969) through factor analytic studies, has identified 12 basic emotional response modes. These include (p. 121):

Activation: Activation (alert, energetic)
Hypoactivation (empty, drained)
Hyperactivation (overstimulated)
Relatedness: Moving Toward (friendliness)
Moving Away (withdrawl)
Moving Against (strike out, hit)
Hedonic Tone: Comfort (well being)
Discomfort (clutching, inner ache)
Tension (tense, hypersensitive)
Competence: Enhancement (sense of confidence, feel bigger)
Incompetence: Dissatisfaction—
Inadequacy (can't cope, overwhelmed)

Motivation. The studies cited earlier relative to functions of the media provide a basic set of categories that could be adopted

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as dimensions of the motivation component of the image:

Motivations: Information (Instruction)
- -Personal
- -Social

Diversion
- -Fill Time
- -Reduce Boredom

Entertainment
- -Arousal
- -Relaxation

Persuasion

These motivations relate to media studies and as such (with the possible exception of persuasion) reflect an information input orientation. Refined conceptions of this category should consider the affective dimensions just listed and the cognitive dimensions.

Figure 2 presents a basic model of the components of the image. The dotted line around the components and their overlapping nature indicate the interaction effects. The behavior component produces a given response in a particular situation. The proposed model presents basic functional relationships.

As a more specific approach to defining the cognitive characteristics of the individual and his information processing, the area of construct theory as developed by Kelly (1963), fits nicely. The fundamental postulate of his theory is that a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events. Thus, the "image" concept is highly relevant. The constructs become the specific dimensional interrelationships of the image. Kelly's theory offers 11 corollaries

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to the fundamental postulate:

- Construction Corollary:
  A person anticipates events by construing their replications.
- Individuality Corollary:
  Persons differ from each other in their construction of events.
- Organization Corollary:
  Each person characteristically evolves, for his convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs.
- Dichotomy Corollary:
  A person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs.
- Choice Corollary:
  A person chooses for himself that alternative in a dichotomized construct through which he anticipates the greater possibility for the elaboration of his system.
- Range Corollary:
  A construct is convenient for the anticipation of a finite range of events only.
- Experience Corollary:
  A person's construction system varies as he successively construes the explication of events.
- Modulation Corollary:
  The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs, within whose range of convenience variants lie.
- Fragmentation Corollary:
  A person may successively employ a variety of construction subsystems which are inferentially incompatible with each other.
- Commonality Corollary:
  To the extent that one person employs a construction of experience which is similar to that employed by another, his processes are psychologically similiar to those of the other person.
- Sociality Corollary:
  To the extent that one person construes the construction process of another, he may play a role in a social process involving the other person.

Future theorizing will have to examine (more closely than is possible here) the likelihood of synthesizing this type of approach with the Baldwin conception presented earlier.

Within the construct orientation the literature approaches to the actual measurement of human information processing become important. (see Bannister and Mair, 1968; Haber, 1969; Schroder et.al., 1967). These processing approaches

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assume the following:

1. A perceptual response is the result of processing information through a number of stages, each of which takes time to organize or traverse.
2. Processing is limited by the capacities of the information handling-channels, the information content of the stimulus, and the prior experiences and condition of the perceiver.
3. Perceptual processes cannot be studied or analyzed independent of memorial ones.

Relative to the measurement of specific stimulus the following dimensions are important:

1. Differentiation. This refers to "the number of dimensional units of information generated by a person when he 'perceives' an array of stimuli."
2. Discrimination. This is the capaci y of the structure to distinguish among stimuli.
3. Integrative Complexity. The extent to which information can be interrelated in different ways to generate new perspectives about a stimulus.

The most powerful approach to the measurement of cognitive stimulus is the multidimensional scaling technique. This is a form of psychological measurement which uncovers the number, type, and organization of dimensions used by a subject in his perceptions and evalutations of a complex stimulus (Schroder, et.al., 1967).

Summary of Approach to Studying the "Image"

The suggested approach to conceptualizing the image was to first set up a general model (organismic), choose a more particular theoretic model within this general model (cognitive-developmental), then specify a particular theory (Baldwin's "Cognitive Theory of Socialization"). Given the basic theory, the approach to the explication of the image was to move from the general staging of cognitive structures relative to the individuals motivation (Kelly's Construct Theory), then to the precise measurement of constructs through multidimensional scaling techniques.

Having reached the point of being able to specify information processing structures within the image, the concern turns to the type of information being processed, i.e. the specific type of content (form and structure). This becomes especially important in the case of the media because of the fact that the information or "experience" is a mediated one. As such, the number of sensory modalities being used to process the experience and the quality and quantity of sensory information available for processing is very different from the direct exposure. This difference should have major effects on the "image" resulting from the experience.

Information Input

Relative to information input, before making more detailed comparisons of mediated vs. direct symbolic experiences, other theoretic considerations should be noted. First, Berlyne (1965) posits that there are the following varying mechanisms for gathering and/or rejecting information:

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Information Gathering:
1. Trial and Error
2. Exploratory Behavior
3. Epistemic Behavior
   a. Epistemic observation -- symbolic representation of stimulus patterns resulting from observation.
   b. Consultation - seeking verbal information (e.g. expert or sourcebook).
   c. Directed Thinking - patterns of internally produced stimuli.

Information Rejection:
1. Attention Processes
2. Abstraction Processes (e.g. assimilation via leveling and sharpening).

In this scheme the media probably best fit in categories 3a and b in terms of information gathering. However, the consequences of possessing the information would probably result in directed thinking or the generation of new conceptions by internal manipulation of the information. See Atkin (1973) for a more detailed consideration of information seeking behaviors.

Mediated vs. Directly Experienced Information

Bruner and Olson (1973) provide an excellent comparison of the relative differences in cognitive effects produced by mediated vs. direct experiences. They argue very effectively that knowledge, or the acquisition of "facts", reflects the invariants in the natural and social environment while cognitive structures, or schemas, reflect the structure of the medium or performatory domain in which activities are carried out. They note that the categories of behavior from which information may be extracted include:

1. Contingent (Direct) Experience
2. Observational Experience
3. Symbolic Systems (Communication)

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As contrasted with direct experience, the mediated information will be very different in quality and quantity -- e.g. fidelity, 3-dimensionality, complexity, number of differing sensory modes and/or sensory associations with it. Since this affects the "image" or cognitive structure, it follows that the individual's ability to use (comprehend, manipulate, interrelate) the information will be affected. This ability to use the information internally relates to what Gross (1973) terms symbolic competence. Note here that the competence could be within or among differing modes (i.e. nonverbal, musical, etc.).

As an extention of the behavior component of the image model, Figure 3 presents a model of observational vs. direct experiences, and their related symbolic vs. non-symbolic aspects. The arrows indicate the direction of information flow or behavior -- overt behavior being a direct action while observation, though an action, is covert in that the dominant aspect is information input. The major components are enclosed with a dotted line to indicate the potential interaction of processes. For example, non-symbolic processes may easily shift to symbolic if some action or event causes the observer to associate other meanings. More specifically, performing an overt symbolic act (communication) will provide potential symbolic or non-symbolic information through self-perceptions of the behavior. Within the symbolic information/action blocks, the content and form of the information are given as major determinants of image content and structure.

Overall, particular behavior sequences can be charted given a particular motivational state (mix of elements). For example if the motivation is to fill an information need, the response will probably be observational using a specific type of symbolic information. If the motivation is to inform another, the sequence becomes an overt action (symbolic process) using a particular channel of communication.

Effects of the Behavior on the Image

The basic types of effects on the image as summarized earlier, were: Formation, Transformation, Reinforcement. These effects, as presented in Figure 3 have the arrow going from the behavior function block to the effect function block. The arrow represents the end product of the interaction within the block. Similarly, within the effects block there may be mixes of differing effects. Thus, the arrow from the effects block reflect this probable mix. Here, the short-term effects indicate effects most directly related to immediate states (e.g. arousal, interest, etc.) while the long-term effects are most related to the image component "sets" or long-term predispositions. The arrow between short-term and long-term effects merely emphasizes their potential interplay.

Summary of Model Building

By way of summary, the intent has been to examine theoretic approaches to developmental psychology, the child socialization research specifically, and the media related socialization research. The conceptual shemes evident in the literature were synthesized to create a set of models. It was proposed that the following conceptual framework be used to study the effects of mass media on our "images":

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General Socialization and Media Model (Fig.1)

↓

General Organismic Model

↓

Cognitive Theory of Socialization (Baldwin)

↓

Construct Theory (Kelly)

↓

Image - Behavior - Effect Model (Fig. 2,3)

Given the complexities of the above mix,a great deal of explication is necessary before arriving at an acceptable "theory". The overall power of the above conception is that it does not fit our initial contention that an adequate theory of media socialization effects must first be a theory of behavior in general. The direct action and nonsymbolic components of the proposed model allow for this. A behavioral psychologist could concentrate on these modes of behavior, expanding the model along these lines.

It should be noted that the related cognitive theories (Baldwin's and Kelly's) may undergo change as the model is refined, the component relationships explicated, and the theory strengthened. Although this process of refinement is necessarily complex, the degree of specificity in the conceptions lends itself to empirical verification. As can be seen, the potential power of the present conception, for explanation and prediction, lies in its broad theory base.

Future Considerations

As an initial step in the "theory" formulation process, more direct and detailed comparisons should be made with other explicit models. For example, the conceptions should be compared with other available theories within the same parent model (e.g. psychoanalytic) and then with the mechanistic approach (e.g. Ahammer; Bandura, 1965; Mischel, 1968) to highlight relative strengths and weaknesses for future considerations.

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Moving from these overall model comparisons, the approach would be to test, refine, and expand the more specific "image" conception for potential refinement of the theoretic propositions that underlie it. Similarly, as the system is refined, variables within the system might be given new definitions, to maintain the parsimonious conception. For example, the term persuasion might be defined as giving information with intent to transform a particular cognitive set dimension (attitude), while instruction becomes giving information with intent to form a particular cognitive set dimension (knowledge). Although these definitions seem self evident, it may be that for consistency, the concept of attitude or knowledge structures would have to be redefined as well.

Another major factor in need of explication and expansion is the "environment", as listed in the behavior model. The various agents of socialization become obvious influences in that environment (as listed in Fig.1. However, these dimensions are in need of refinement and a method developed to assess their relative contributions. Here, Woelfel's (1971) multidimensional scaling approach to aggregate data appears to be exceptionally promising. Using the significant other concept as a way to weight information input into the image, the changes in the model will be proportional to the significance of the source, the characteristics of the information, and the characteristics of the image. Relative to determining media effects, given their mediated nature, this would be essential information to resolve the question of media vs. other contributors to our "images".

The above considerations have recently been considered in depth by Gerbner (1973) by way of cultural indicators. The logic of the

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argument for these media effects is easy to accept. However, again, the relative contribution of all agents should be known (or estimated) to accurately describe the influence of the media. Other major future explorations should include symbolic mode competence as discussed by Gross (1973). Factors like social class as Environmental-Image interactions in the determination of symbolic mode competence could prove useful (e.g. see Williams, 1969,1970).

A final area well worth exploring is reflected in the research on imagery and fantasy ability (see Paiveo, 1971; Segal, 1971; Sheehan, 1972). For example, differences are evident relative to the childs ability to fantasize and the effect of film or television violence. Here, youngsters with less ability to fantasize were more likely to be stimulated to aggression than were children who could cognitively manipulate or "act out" the aggression feelings in their minds. (Biblow, 1973; Singer, and Antrobus, 1972; Thomas, 1972).

Biblow (1973) concludes:

> "The crucial element then seems to be not the film itself but the fantasy level of the child, with the same film having beneficial or destructive results depending on the youngsters ability to utilize the aggressive elements of the film on a fantasy level." (p. 127)

The ability to fantasize appears to be but one aspect of an ability to internally manipulate information. The fantasy research also shows that low fantasy children are more active in play, but engage in less contemplation of activities than do high fantasy children. Overall, this line of research appears to be particularly relevant to the "image" concept, and to the mediated symbolic information condition.

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INSTITUTIONS:
-- school
-- church
-- recreational organizations
-- social control agents (police)
-- therapeutic, correctional agents
-- employment/work agents
-- political institutions/ groups

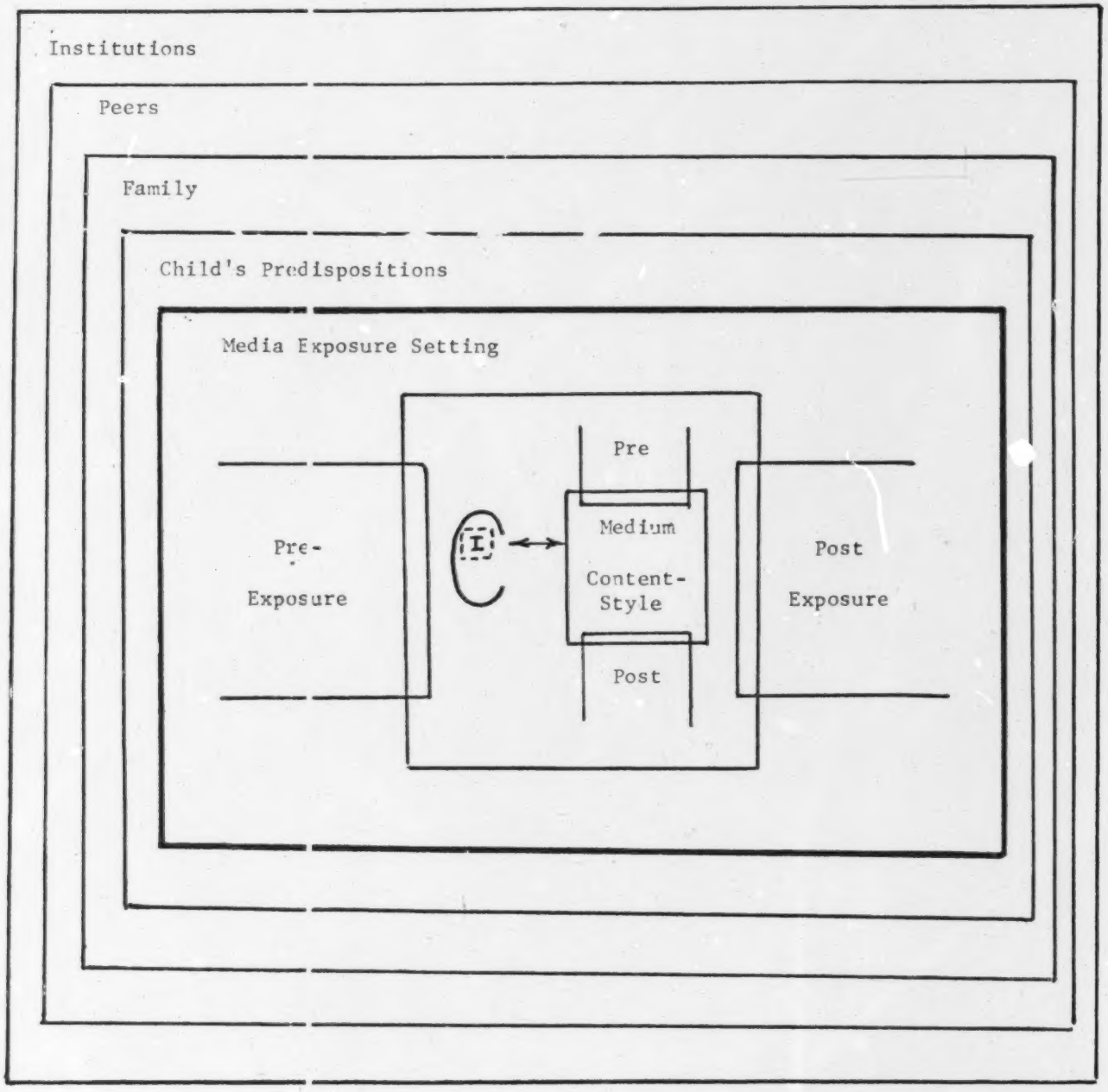
PEER:
-- experience peer relationships
-- teach taboo subjects
-- expand social view
-- promote independence from parents
-- provide cushion against authority

FAMILY:
-- nurturance
-- training (basic physiological needs)
-- training basic skills:
  -- physical
  -- perception-communication
  -- self-care
-- orientation to world of kin, society
-- setting cultural norms
-- promoting relationship skills
-- guiding future plans, goals

CHILD:
-- demographics
-- cognitive stage
-- basic personality type
-- behavioral predisposition
-- specific information processing

MEDIA:
-- content & form
  form, transform, or reinforce:
  -- image effects (world, self)
  -- knowledge
  -- attitudes & values
  -- interests
  -- personal, social, societal functions

Figure 1. Child socialization model: media orientation.



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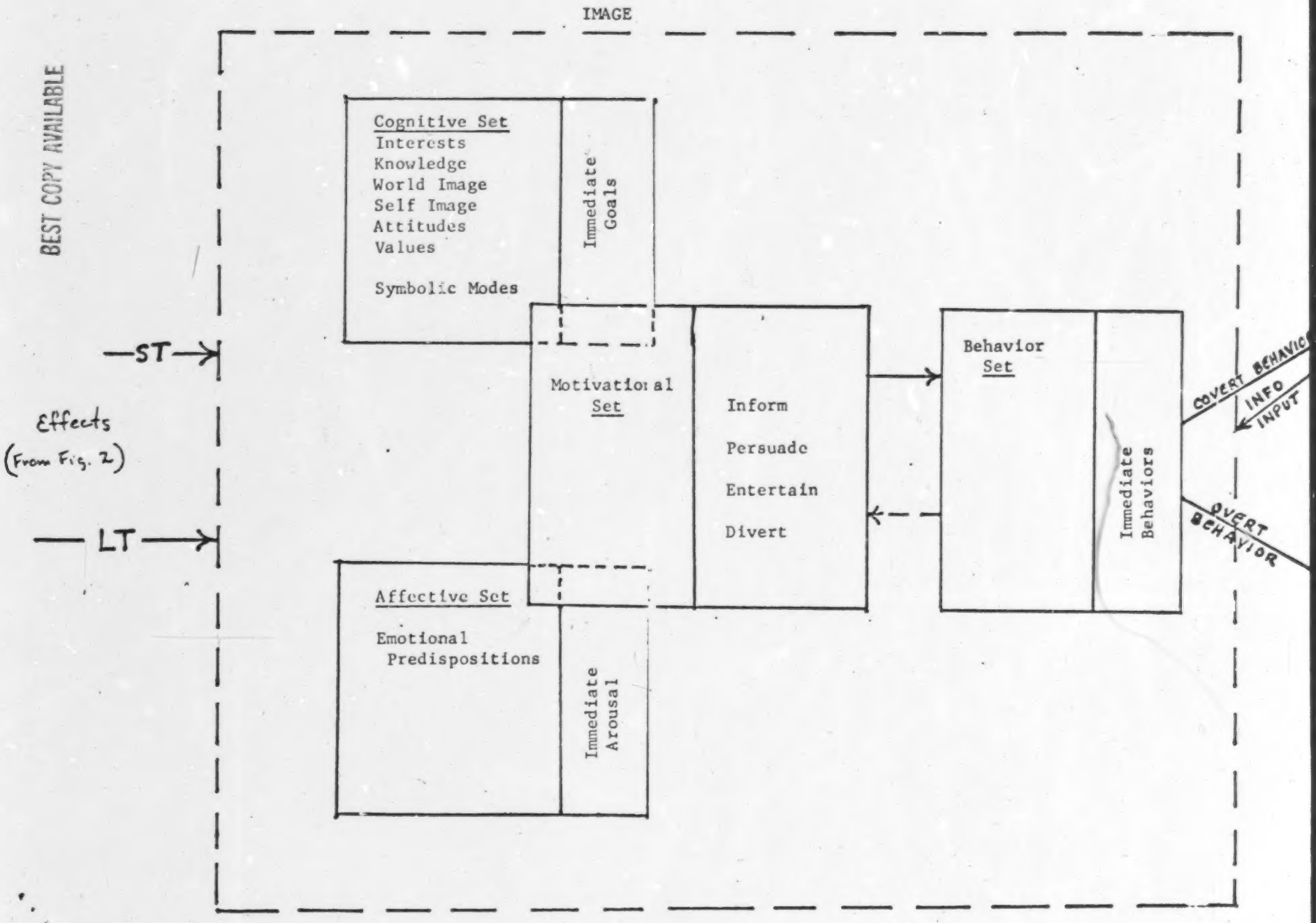


Fig. 2. Components of the "Image."

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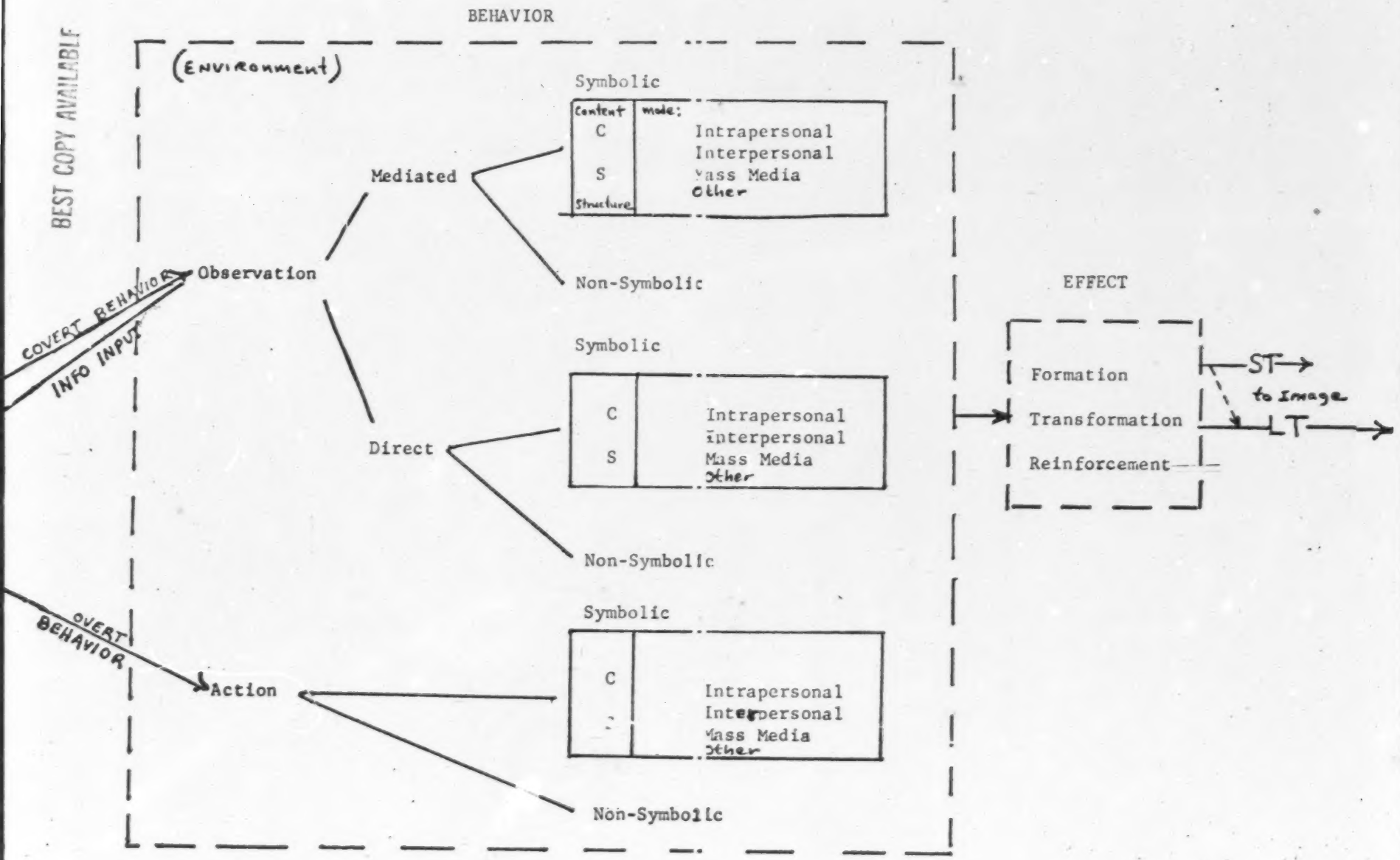


Fig. 3. Behavior — Effect Model.